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U. S. ... OF CONGRESS

SPEECH

OF

HON. OSCAR F. MOORE, OF OHIO,

IN

PRACTICAL LEGISLATION FOR THE TROUBLES IN KANSAS—THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES, THEIR POLICY AND ACTION—MILLARD FILLMORE AND HIS PARTY.

SATURDAY, August 9, 1856.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. MOORE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Until yesterday, it was not my purpose to avail myself of the latitude given to debate while in Committee of the Whole, to submit any remarks whatever, knowing, as we all do, that whatever is said while thus in Committee is addressed rather to the country than to Congress. I have, however, for some time desired, in the spirit of that candor and frankness which ought ever to characterize our intercourse here, to address myself briefly to *gentlemen* upon this floor, whose duty it is, in common with myself, to forget for a while what I fear engrosses too much our attention, and endeavor in *good faith* to accomplish some *practical plan* of averting a *calamity* which all agree *threatens* the country, and for restoring that good feeling and harmony which ought ever to exist among the different States of this Union; but a *distrust* of my own powers, and that timidity and diffidence which, if it were not peculiar to myself, is a very natural offspring of my position as a *new member* upon this floor, has heretofore deterred me from making that effort; and now, admonished by the pressure of business before us, and the very brief period allowed to accomplish it, I am compelled either to forego entirely what I have desired to say, or to present it to the Committee, where, for the reason already stated, it may never reach many of those by whom I desire to be heard.

We have heard much—very much—said, and a great anxiety has been manifested in this Hall, during this protracted session, about an early settlement of the "Kansas question." I shall not pause to inquire with what *sincerity* gentlemen have at all times talked, or how much less of *feeling* than was evidenced by the words uttered, of anxiety for the *early* settlement of this question, but wish merely to say that I, too, have been *anxious* upon this subject; and although for more than eight months I have sat here, *indifferent*, apparently, perhaps, to some, and have never in my place uttered one word in debate upon the subject, I have nevertheless been exceedingly *solicitous* all the time, to see the earliest possible settlement of this delicate and vexatious question, so far as this Congress, *constituted as it is*, can settle it. But pray what *practical good* is accomplished for Kansas or the country, *convulsed*, as we all concede they are, by a mere *feeling* of anxiety, whether real or fictitious, on the part of Congress? The Democracy have settled down upon a *finality*. The country was peaceful, quiet, happy, prosperous almost without a parallel, when, a little more than three years ago, it was transferred by Millard Fillmore to the present administration, and now the whole country is *convulsed*, and, to say nothing of subsequent events, there cannot be found a single man who has the *effrontery* or *indecency* to say that the introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, was not the *inception* of the entire series of unhappy events which have followed close upon the heel of that disastrous measure. It is not our purpose to trace the effect of that scheme, or to suggest motives for its introduction, or mark its progress from the fatal hour when it was concocted, down to the present moment of gloom and despondency; but it is enough to say, that wherever you may cast your eyes, you can see nothing but havoc, and desolation.

If a tornado had swept over the whole country no greater devastation would have been perceptible in the natural world than is now standing out in bold relief, everywhere, in the political condition of the country. The government, from an unprecedented tranquillity and prosperity, has been precipitated into the veriest vortex of discord, and so deep settled a disquietude is everywhere exhibited—such a portentous murmuring of the people, such a distrust, such a want of confidence, such a sectional bickering and strife is now manifested all over the land, that even the coolest, the bravest, and the truest men of the country are watching the passing events with the utmost solicitude and apprehension, lest it may result in open rupture and civil war. The

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giant Democratic party of 1852, where is it now? Where are its *colossal* proportions, its proud crest, its Samson locks? *Gone! gone!* It has fallen; its giant proportions have dwindled away; it has been shorn of its Samson locks, and with them have departed their Samson strength, and now, as a sick girl, it cries—

"Give me some drink, Titinius."

And that proud chieftain, too, who so recently was carried into the Presidential mansion with almost a unanimous vote—how has the mighty fallen!

"But yesterday, the word of Cæsar might
Have stood against the world: now lies he there,
And none so poor to do him reverence."

And that "Little Giant" cries the pride of "Young America," with a talent worthy of a better cause, with a bravery scarcely paralleled, and a *will* to execute equaled only by his dauntless courage. He, too, is humbled to the dust. The chalice prepared by him for another, has been returned to his own lips. The arrow has rebounded and pierced his own bosom:

"Keen were his fangs, but keener far to feel,
He nursed the pinion which impelled the steel."

The very friends of those who initiated this mad scheme, and brought to its support all the power and patronage of this vast government, have, in one portion of the country at least, deserted them. Their heads have been placed upon the block, and the axe applied by the very hands of those that they have caressed; and while they have permitted their bodies to *writhe* in all the agonies of a death struggle, they have turned contemptuously away, and as if to show how ineffable is their scorn, they are seeking now to elevate to the high places from which the schemers have been dragged, the very man, who, above all others in this country, can smile *complacently* at his fallen rivals, and in the deepest recesses of his cold and antiquated heart, laugh at their calamity. And yet this venerable Democracy wraps itself up in its own dignity, and instead of offering some practical healing measure to the country, looks out with cool and deliberate unconcern, and, in deep sepulchral tones, says to the people of this convulsed government:

"There is no remedy—we can do nothing—we stand upon a *finality*, which we ourselves have forced upon the country, and now let what will come, we leave you to the fierce passions, the violence, the bowie-knife and the rifle of infuriated men, to protect yourselves if you can, or to suffer and bleed and die if you must."

The very principle which was introduced by the Kansas bill, and upon which the Democracy *plume* themselves they have suffered to be *repudiated* and *scouted out* of the Territory, and the *new* principle introduced of permitting everybody *outside* of the Territory to prescribe the government to the entire exclusion of every one within it. And yet no arm of this government, strong enough to accomplish its purposes, has ever been interposed. Fraud and violence have stalked abroad, and blood has flown, and yet no interposition, by the administration, until the act has been consummated, and then only a force too puny and imbecile to restore order and enforce obedience. And now this Congress is to adjourn, and no practicable remedial measure is proposed by the Democracy, at all adequate to the subsisting troubles. Nothing conciliatory, nothing healing, nothing salutary to the repose and peace of the country is proffered by that party, that claims for itself *all* of nationality, *all* of conservatism, *all* of patriotism. But I learn to do no injustice.

A bill has been introduced and has passed the Senate, at the instance of the Democracy, which, its friends claim is the great panacea, and I have no wish to detract from it by [illegible] of merit that [illegible] may possess. [illegible] to say, that upon its [illegible] that [illegible] semblance at least of *fairness*; and if all the teachings heretofore from those who have claimed to be the "peculiar friends" of free Kansas *were true*, and there was, in point of fact, so large a preponderance of actual citizens in that Territory who desired to have Kansas a free State, as has always heretofore been represented, there could be but slight objection urged against the measure by any one who desired to see the question settled, and at the same time desired also to see Kansas admitted into this Union as a free State. But unfortunately for the success of that measure, the information which has been spread all over this country by the friends of free Kansas, as to the great superiority in numbers, of the free State men in that Territory, is now pronounced *fabulous*, or at least doubtful, by those men themselves. And again, in anticipation of the passage of this Senate bill, from information recently received, which, to say the least of it, comes from a source entitled, in the absence of more reliable testimony, to no little credit; it is understood and believed that that class of men who, from the first, have set out with a fixed determination to establish slavery in that Territory, and are laboring sedulously to accomplish that purpose, have already taken the necessary steps under the provisions of that bill to control the destiny of that Territory to suit themselves, and, with that information staring us in the face, in connexion with the notorious fact that almost every man here, whose sympathies are with the slave party, and who would, were it left to him, establish slavery there, is for that bill, and desires its passage, whatever of fairness may appear upon the face of the bill itself, or however plausible may be the arguments urged by its friends in its favor, it never can receive the sanction of this

House, and therefore it offers no *practical* relief either to Kansas or the country. For, come what will—differ as widely as we may, as to what measure of peace should be adopted, whoever or whatever may be affected by it, it is due to frankness and to truth to say that no measure *more favorable* to the establishment of slavery in Kansas, than the Territorial bill itself, wholly unaided by any other legislation looking to that end, and divested of every appliance brought to bear by *outside* influences and considerations, can ever receive the sanction of a majority of the House. And it is worse than useless—it is the *sheerest mockery*, therefore, to propose anything that can afford new legislative *aid*, even in the slightest degree, to the establishment of slavery in Kansas. If, then, this is the *ultimatum* of the Democracy, we can, without doing the least injustice, *insist* before the people, that they turn a deaf ear to all their entreaties, afford no relief, proffer no healing measure, but *complacently* fold their arms, planting themselves upon their *finality*, and leave the country to work out its own salvation, as best it can. But a *new party* has recently sprung up in this country, and with all the *ardor* and *enthusiasm* of a new suitor for the popular favor, this strange compound of discordant elements—this pie-bald, heterogeneous mass of conglomerated inconsistencies, instigated and led on by a band of political desperadoes and charlatans, who for years have disgraced the country and embroiled its peaceful citizens, but, rendered now somewhat respectable by an association with no inconsiderable number of worthy people, have appropriated entirely to themselves the settlement of this Kansas question, and a restoration of the peace and quiet of the country. No higher aim, we grant, could challenge the exertions of any party, no nobler purposes could engage the untiring energies of any political organization in this country. And if this were the *aim* and *purpose* of the leaders and instigators of this *new party*, one universal *shout* should come up, "God speed its success!" But let no man be deceived! It comes, we grant, under an euphonious name—"Republican!" "The People's party!" And, looking only at its title, the humble habiliments thrown around its *exterior*, no wonder that so many good and true men in the North are inclined, in the bitterness of their anguish, to fall into its embraces. No one can doubt that, in numbers, at least, a vast majority of those who are this day within the folds of this new organization, are *honest* and *pure* in purpose, *sincere* in design, and *patriotic* in determination; and that if left to them, they would bring back the country to primitive landmarks, and restore peace and order; but no less true is it, that the honest, true, and patriotic masses of that party will not, as they have not, thus far, dictate its policy or control its destiny.

The power *behind* the throne, the wheel *within* the wheel, the *complicated and delicate machinery* which gives impetus, and direction, and control to party organization, is not perceptible, even in the calmest moments, to the pure-minded, unsuspecting, true men of the country. And while now the farmer at his plough, the mechanic in his work-shop, and the laborer at his toil, in the honesty of his pure heart, in the unsuspecting sincerity of his true nature, with patriotic emotions, looks out upon the turmoil, the distrust, the disquietude, the portentous murmurings of the people, and thinks only of the quick return of happier and more tranquil moments to the country, does not even *dream*, that at that very moment there is *behind* the scene, *that band of political tricksters, and renegades, and adventurers* which always heretofore he has shunned as he would the adder—whose touch is contamination, whose breath is pestilential, and whose rule is *dishonor* and *ruin*—are *chuckling* over his innocent infatuation, but, at the same time, arranging with the utmost caution and care the *party machinery*, so that *they* may reap the harvest, and gather the fruit, while he is left to enjoy the mortifying reality of a disappointed hope and a defrauded expectation. And yet no man who has mingled at all in public life, or has but half heeded the admonitions of the past, or looks with but half an eye at the "beautiful workings" of the FAITHFUL now, with all their *new-born* zeal for that *repose* and *quiet* which the country so imperiously demands, but which ever heretofore they have been so studiously and sedulously careful to *disturb* and *destroy*, can for one moment doubt the *purpose* and *base design* of such men; their untiring exertions to carry out those purposes, and their ability to consummate them, if by excitement and confusion, or by feeling, prejudice, or passion, justly, perhaps, aroused, the people of the country can be so lulled to sleep or seduced into a heedless acquiescence, as to enable them by *stealth* and *fraud* to attain power and control in this government, either by themselves or by the *minions* that they have raised up for the occasion.

Settle the difficulties in Kansas, Mr. Chairman! Restore peace and quiet to a distracted country! Bring back the government to ancient landmarks! Inspire new confidence! Avenge the breach of plighted faith! Conciliate and reconcile conflicting rights and interests in the true spirit of the *fathers*, and plant themselves *firmly* upon such reconciliations and stand by them! Who, sir, in all this land, in sober seriousness, would ever even *suspect* that the *master spirits* of this Republican movement, the men who seek to control its destiny, who *have* thus far dictated its policy, and *will* in the future, if it shall succeed, guide and direct its course, either seek or desire to accomplish any such purposes.

Peace and quiet to the country, good faith, loyalty to the constitution, acquiescence in all the compromises of that instrument, and a steadfast adherence to the policy, the yielding, conciliatory spirit of those *true men* who stood by the cradle of this government in its infancy, cherished and protected it in its youth, and transmitted it to us in the vigor and strength of its manhood, no useless agitation, no unwarranted sectionalism, no fraternal strife! And say you that this is the doctrine of the *head* and *front* of Republicanism? Blot out the record that these men have made, forget the strife which they have occasioned, erase from your history the recorded scenes of agitation in which they have figured so conspicuously; burn up the statute-book in every State in which by any means, either foul or fair, they have at any time had the power and control; gather together every disunion and sacrilegious sentiment which even now every day is pouring in upon us from all quarters, emanating from men who, while they are kindred spirits, and think and feel with them, have not that cool, calculating head nor that dishonest, insincere and insidious heart that for its own own wise purposes in this particular juncture can smother up and conceal its true instincts, and bury all these things deep, deep in the bowels of the earth, and you may then induce the people to believe that their purposes are identical, and that they seek to accomplish only what the people themselves desire in these perilous times.

God knows, Mr. Chairman, that there is already enough in this country to excite and startle its peaceful and quiet citizens, and that it is in no wise the part either of wisdom or prudence to say aught to add to that disquietude and restlessness, or accellerate the fearful issue so likely to come out of it. It is all doubtless the legitimate offspring of the sad workings of a wicked and mad administration, who with impious hands have broken up the deep fountain in which has been hidden for so long the dark waters of discord, and deluged the country. And while we would not suppress one tittle of that just indignation which is felt by an outraged people for the wrongs inflicted, or avert the merited punishment for those wrongs, or rescue for one instant from the deep grave of dishonor and infamy, dug by their own hands, and to which with so much unanimity an insulted and indignant people has consigned them, a party so perverse as that which now afflicts the country, we would ask, in the spirit of patriotism and deep devotion to this great government, to pause one moment and look beyond the turbulent scenes of the present hour. Is there to be a *future* of this Republic? And is that *future* to find us a united and happy people, with *one* country, *one* constitution, *one* flag, "with no star obliterated or stripe erased," one destiny; or shall that great orb of day look down "on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union, on a land rent with civil feud or drenched it may be in fraternal blood?"

These may be inquiries worthy of the *passing notice* even of those who *sneff at* the "Union savers" of these days. And while upon that subject, I desire, Mr. Chairman, simply to say, that I am not one of those who believe that this Union can be dissolved by any sudden political convulsion. No great *tumulo* will ever sweep over this country, potent enough to sever at once the strong cords which bind us together. Nor is it against any such occurrence as that, I would desire to caution the country. But it is against that *insidious*, mendacious power and influence which *steals* upon us in the night season, when *honest* and *true* men are sleeping, and severs a cord here, and another one there, and thus weakens the bond of union. It is against that *fell spirit* which creates distrust, and destroys that mutual confidence which is so essential among the people, and against that demon who, with a fair exterior, and honeyed words, says first to the North, "see what the South has done!" and then to the South, "see what the North is about to do!" that I would caution the country and above all, while thus the bond of union is weakened, and all confidence is lost—while the North is aroused, and excited, and indignant at what it is said the South has done, and the South is all *on fire* at what it is said the North is about to do—while the clouds are lowering and the storm coming, it is not only against all new and untried experiments—all *tampering*—but in the very deepest recesses of my soul, I solemnly protest against entrusting the rule of this government into the hands of either the men or their minions, who for so long have desired in their "heart of hearts" to witness just such a condition of things in the country; and who for so many years have labored so sedulously and unceasingly for its consummation.

Heretofore, Mr. Chairman, there has never been a time, when the counsels of such men would have been heeded for one instant by the great masses of pure-minded and true men who love their country. It is true that, occasionally, one of them has *stolen* into some high place of trust in the North, but they stood out as *living monuments* of their own shame and disgrace, and a *beacon light* to point out the *rock* upon which every true man in the country, who travels in that direction is destined inevitably to split.

And, sir, never until this administration, in utter disregard of all its pledges, and in open violation of that confidence which the people reposed in it, sank itself *so deep*, did *these men* rise above the surface beneath which they had so long remained, with enough of power only to *discolor* the waters, and at times,

possibly create a *ripple*. And now, brought into notice, and with a respectability and an importance given to them only by the contrast which they bear to the present administration, in its *low* and *sunken* estate, these men have inaugurated a *new party*, made up, it is true, *mostly* out of those who, *like rats*, have had the necessary *instinct* to escape from the sinking ship *in time*, and the excrements of every party that has ever existed in this country, and, under a "*fancy name*," chosen *because* no one could *understand*, or even *suspect* from it, what were the true *designs* and *purposes* of those who stood *sponsors* to it at the baptismal font, *prolific* of promises but *meagre* with both the ability and disposition to keep them—*professing* to be guided by the wisdom of Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison, but *trampling*, in reality upon the graves of those men—*reviling* their memories and *traducing* and *califying* their characters, by *denouncing* every day, as the deepest of all *damning sins*, *the very thing* of which these men were all guilty, and upon whose *skirts*, if sin it was, it rested, when their spirits took their flight—and *sailing*, too, as they say, under the flag of their country, and yet that "shorn of its fair proportions," and not less than *fifteen* of its bright stars obliterated, they appeal to the country for recruits.

And who, pray, is to rally around their standard? Not a few, perhaps, with more zeal than wisdom, catching from afar off, the faint notes of some one who, for the first time in his life, perhaps, has discovered that some well-fed, light-hearted, happy descendant of the African race "is held in bondage," and he is crying out lustily, "liberty," "liberty," and remembering *that was the watchword* of the Revolution, and that there was prestige of success to it, *therefore* instantly rush into the thickest of the fight.

There is one other class who, far more worthy than these, are laboring under the strange *infatuation* that no one, unless he has been *all his life* a Democrat, is entitled to their support, and *because* Colonel Fremont has been *all his life* a Democrat, and James Buchanan has only been one for the last *forty years*, and before that was a FEDERALIST, *of course* they prefer the former, and very naturally go over to his support.

There is still another class, far more formidable than either of the two named, because they are more numerous, and more harmonious, and far better united in all their political action than any other body of men who ever, in this country, exercised the right to vote. I mean, Mr. Chairman, that class of adopted citizens, whoever they may be, or wherever they may have come from, *and none other*, who *band* themselves together, stand aloof, never mingle with our people, never learn our language, never become *Americanized*, go to the polls and vote as *one man*, and who, in every political contest in which our own people are at all equally divided, control at their own will the election.

Never, sir, did the Buchanan Democracy *humble* itself so much, never did they go so far out of their way, to *spit upon* the native-born American citizen, to *appease* that class of voters, as has the Republican party, under the management of its *virtuous* leaders. And now, if this class of voters withhold their support, and refuse the rich bounty of free homes on free soil, in free Kansas, under Fremont—but is promised them, and still *spurn* the embrace of the men who, under one of their chief leaders, for *their* sake, have *indignantly hooted out* the true sons of this soil, they but exhibit with their other faults that deepest of all sins *base ingratitude*. But it cannot be. The Republican party are entitled to the support of this class of voters—they deserve it for their truckling subserviency—they merit it for their self-debasement in *despising* their own blood, so that they might *love* them the more; and it is to be hoped that they will receive it all, and that no man will envy them the boon.

There is another class, Mr. Chairman, upon whom a powerful appeal is made. I mean, sir, the quiet, unobtrusive, conservative portion of the country—the *true men* who are disappointed, chagrined, mortified and overwhelmed at the bad faith and broken promises of high public functionaries. The upright citizen, who deplores the unfortunate condition of public affairs, is justly indignant at those who are responsible for it, and desires ardently to rebuke the perpetrators of the wrong.

But, while they would go far to hold up to public censure and condemnation all who are responsible for the outrage, and would hurl, with scorn, from power the party under whose auspices the act has been consummated—yet would be the last, in doing this, to perpetrate a more glaring wrong, or inflict upon the country a far greater calamity. The desire of these men is peace, order, justice, safety to the country, the supremacy of the law, and the preservation of the government as it is. And the aid of these men is invoked to the building up of the Republican party, and unless that aid is afforded them that party is destined to the most inglorious defeat. Will that aid be given? It is not to be disguised that there is an intense feeling in the country, that there exists the strongest determination to rebuke the Administration of President Pierce, and to fix the seal of condemnation upon the party, who propose merely to *consummate* a scheme of wrong and wantonness, concocted, and, to a very considerable extent, carried through by the Administration, which it proposes to succeed; and could it stop there, and the country repose quietly, when that great work is accomplished, the duty of every man would be a plain one. But that brings up the momentous question: and it is well worth the candid and dispassionate inquiry of the quiet and considerate citizen everywhere, whether it is not better to endeavor to rebuke the wrong in some other way, or even to suffer it to go unrebuked, than to invoke a power that may prove more terrible and disastrous in its consequence, and more fatal to the peace and prosperity of the government, than even the continuance in power of a party so universally condemned and detested. Good men cry out, there is no danger, but is that true?

A party existing only in one portion of the country, selecting their own candidates, proposing to elect them by a strict sectional vote, to the entire and absolute exclusion of every other portion of the Republic, and then, under such an organization, undertaking to administer the government for a portion of the country intentionally precluded from all par-

ticipation in the matter, is an experiment, to say the least of it, of doubtful character. Upon its very face it bears the semblance of wrong and injustice. It threatens danger, and it may result disastrous to the country. And no candid and fair-minded man can look upon this scheme in his calm and sober moments, without feeling a deep distrust for its success. Guided, however, by wisdom, controlled by considerate and experienced men, and urged on by pure patriotism, the experiment, even as dangerous as it may appear, might result well, and the great object of the *true one* who are inclined to go with it, might be accomplished—the wrongs redressed, the perpetrators rebuked, peace restored, and no new calamity entailed upon the country.

But has one single element so essential to the success of the party in accomplishing the purposes designed by conservative men to be accomplished by it, marked its progress? It is not our purpose to go into any close examination of the rise of this party, or inquire particularly into its parentage—*when* it was conceived—*why* it originated—*who* arranged for its birth—*who* acted as *accoucheur*—*how difficult* was the parturition—"how the *mountain* labored and brought forth the mouse"—*how* CERTAIN MEN rejoiced when the bantling was ushered in—*who* has *propped* by it thus far, upon what nourishment the *sickly thing* has been fed, and how difficult, with all the *stimulus* that has been administered during its infancy, it has been *kept alive*, or *what food* is yet prepared for it, and upon which it is to be feasted, with the vain hope of eking out its miserable existence until the household of its parentage may be enabled to realize *some little* at least of what promised at one time to be a large estate! To drop all figure, and use plain language, *certain notorious characters, widely* at least, if not *favorably* known to the country, by prearrangement had fixed the opening of this Congress, and the organization of this House, as the time and the place for the birth of this party. Without waiting to consult or inquire into the adaptation of all the means prearranged, or the willingness on the part of those selected to aid in the inauguration of this party, the *machinery* was put in motion, and we remember well its workings. The *hirelings* and *overseers* stood ready, *lash in hand*, to scourge into active service every one who was inclined to *lag* in the performance of the work *blocked out* for them by the self-constituted *masters*. No menial for whom these men professes so much sympathy ever suffered so deeply from the lash of the *member overseer* than did those who would not bow the knee, or yield obedience, or servile and menial like, do their bidding. And whatever may be thought of me, and my unyielding resistance to the mandates of those men in that long struggle, by those whose representative I am, either individually or collectively, I glory in the firmness by which I was enabled to stand up against them—resist their entreaties—scorn and detest their menaces, scoff at their carpings and base denunciations, and smile complacently at the harmless innocence of their scourgings. That struggle is now over, and no one desires to revive it.

The respect for the Speaker is inspired by the grace with which he has adorned the chair, as a presiding officer, and not so much by that *perseverity* with which his election was urged, not so much by sentiment *within*, as by the *pressure without* this Hall. To the country it *seemed* but a struggle for the organization of this House, but to the *initiated* it was of the Republican party. It was the *inauguration* of that party. It was so understood then by those who did not sympathize with it, but resented its encroachments, and it has since been tacitly acknowledged by the Republican press. And, now, since its inauguration, what has it done, or what does it promise to do, to commend itself to the support of the *great and true* men of this country? The circumstances under which it has been ushered in, the long and fearful struggle, the entire responsibility of which its friends have *wrongfully* sought to impose upon those who would not aid, contribute to, or acquiesce in, or even submit to its behests connected with its birth, have already been alluded to. Has anything since occurred to render it *more acceptable* to the prudent, conservative and considerate citizen? It is said that, even if rash, selfish and dangerous men, were *active* in conceiving and in giving birth to the bantling, that *their* power and control has long since ceased, and it is now "the people's party," and under their auspices, guidance and management. Sir, no absurdity under the flimsy garb of apparent truth, more *glaring* than this, no *fallacy* more fatal to the peace and quiet of the country, was ever attempted to be palmed off by sinister and base-hearted men, upon an honest and discreet, but now excited and indignant people.

We do not propose, Mr. Chairman, to trace the history of the Philadelphia Convention. The result of its deliberation is well known to the country. That there were many good men, safe and prudent citizens, and true patriots in that convention, some of whom even, under a strange infatuation, favored the nomination of Colonel Fremont, no one doubts; but that his nomination was the result of the deliberate judgment, the honest convictions, the disinterested promptings of any such men, is so *wildly false*, that no one can be found so *insane* as to assert it. Colonel Fremont! the *great untried*—the "*pathfinder*"—the "*explorer*"—the man who ascended the Rocky mountains, and planted upon its highest peak THE CROSS, fit emblem of his religion, forsooth, but a man who never "trod the deck," chosen to the entire exclusion of the ten thousand better men in the country, to go aboard of the old ship of State, and take hold of the helm in the midst of one of the most terrible storms in which that cherished old craft was ever caught; at an hour when every good man stood appalled, and held his breath, fearing that the very next wave that should dash against her sides would carry her and all on board *below*, and say you that *this* is the WORK of "*the people?*" Sir, it is a *base libel* upon the intelligence, the honesty, the purity of the people; the *impudence* and *unblushing effrontery* that gives utterance to which, is surpassed only by that which prompted the nomination itself. *The people, sir!* Sir, if you would learn whose work it was, instead of going among the people and *consulting* them by inquiring "who did it," you should have gone, in some long still night of last winter, into some gloomy cavern on Wall street, or perhaps into the darkened sanctum of some New York city newspaper editor, and there witnessed the scene which transpired among the wily politicians of an oft-repudiated, rejected, and despised school on the one part, and a band of *public pandoras* who *infest* the government, hover like evil birds of prey about the Capitol, filling the very atmosphere with their stench, on the other, and overheard the scheme concocted and the plan arranged for a sudden and strange public sentiment in favor of the nomination of Colonel Fremont to be indicated by *mysterious* communications coming up from all parts of the country *simultaneously*, and then have marked the unerring industry, and the zeal with which those distinct classes, acting conjointly, have labored to promote that sentiment, and procure, through their own *peculiar channels*, its expression in the Philadelphia Convention, and you would have had no trouble in either learning "whose work it was," or what are the *purposes and designs* of the cold hearers.

But perhaps it may be urged that this party, even if it has done strange work in presenting a candidate for the highest office in the government, through its representatives in this Congress have exhibited the true spirit, and evinced an earnest determination to accomplish the purposes demanded by the times, and that the party *therefore* is entitled to the support and encouragement of the conservative masses. Sir, that

is one of the very matters upon which I have desired to be heard. And while I impugn no gentleman's motives, I intend to deal frankly and fearlessly with the subject. If it has been the object and purpose of the Republicans upon this floor to *insist* upon the adoption of some plan for the settlement of the troubles in Kansas and the country, which *they knew* could not meet the approbation of the Senate and the President, it is to be admitted that through this long session they have not only been *fortunate*, but entirely *successful*. If it has been the object of these gentlemen to carry out *practically* a doctrine which they so freely proclaim, that there is to be *no compromise*, *no concession*—that they must have *all* that they require, or *none*, when they *know* that, from the very nature of things, they cannot obtain the *all*. If they are *determined* to plant themselves upon an *ultimatum*—a *finality*—and unyieldingly to stand there, asking nothing, and conceding nothing short of *that*; if, in the wisdom and statesmanship by which they propose to commend their party to the intelligent and thinking men of this country, they are disposed to afford no relief, propose no healing measure, do nothing for "suffering Kansas"—*nothing* to calm the country, restore quiet, or bring back the government and the people to the point from which they have wandered; unless they can *impose* ALL that is desirable or required; if it is their purpose to suit the *easy* of the people to continue—the breach which already exists between the North and the South to grow wider—the bitterness which is now felt by people in one section towards those of another, to become more rancorous, and fierce passion to become more fierce and malignant, until every bond of Union is gone, all confidence lost, and all fraternal regard destroyed, and not even *propose* to arrest, in the slightest degree, the sad progress of things, or to cast upon the troubled waters one drop of oil, merely because they cannot obtain their *ultimatum*; then, sir, it is to be conceded that their objects and purposes have been *signally successful*. And, if they are to go out to the country, and appeal to the good and true men to sustain them, because of the high excitement and the intense feeling which prevails, and which, if they did not, in the first place, engender, they have at least suffered to accumulate, and will not interpose, however slightly, to quiet; and these things are recommendations to the people, their success and triumph is inevitable. It will not do, Mr. Chairman, for these gentlemen to say that the Republican party is in the minority upon this floor, and, therefore, can do nothing, and should not be held responsible. True, as a party, they have no majority; but upon every measure of policy looking to the settlement of the troubles in Kansas—the rebuke of the Administration—and the restoration of peace and quiet in the country, there has been enough of those who are not of them, ready and willing to aid, to enable them to carry the same through this House.

Gentlemen, sir, and I speak particularly for myself in this connexion, who came here *denouncing* the Democratic party for its breach of faith; its violation of pledges; its utter disregard of the peace and repose of the country; its palpable impudence and folly, if not wickedness, in disturbing a peace measure of so long standing, and in opening up anew the agitation of a subject ever delicate, troublesome, exciting, and vexatious in the country; *desiring*, so far as practicable, to redress the wrong, do justice to the rights of those who had been defrauded and basely dealt with, bring back the government to a policy upon which it had been conducted by good men through so many years, and restore once more in the land, peace and concord. Gentlemen, sir, who, to accomplish these things, under the *imperious necessity* of the case, have been willing, and even manifested that willingness, to forget for a time the safe precedents of the past, the prudence, and wisdom, under other circumstances, would have guided their steps, and gone with the Republican party to any point within reason, and short of revolution, the rupture of the government, or the creation of troubles and difficulties in the country, more terrible and disastrous than those which they desire to remedy. And it is no excuse, therefore, to say that they had no power to propose and carry through this House some scheme or plan feasible and practicable, because acceptable to the Senate, which if it would not have accomplished *all* that was desired, would have done much towards it.

And yet, Mr. Chairman, what has the Republican party done, or proposed to do on this subject, which they did not know would not receive approbation of the Senate or the President, and come not heretofore before us? They have through the aid of some of those, who, though not of them, are yet willing, under imperious necessity, to render them assistance, so as to enable them to stop riot, and to exhibit to the country their disposition to do something for the redress of the wrongs of which they complain, passed the bill admitting Kansas into the Union as a State, under her Topeka constitution. They have by the same assistance, overriding their own will and convictions of right, passed a bill repealing the Kansas and Nebraska act, reorganizing the Territory of Kansas and restoring the Missouri compromise. They have also attached to some of the appropriation bills, certain provisos looking towards the repeal of some of the odious laws of Kansas, a redress of the wrongs inflicted upon some of the people of that Territory. And yet, did not every Republican, either in or out of Congress, *know full well*, when the passage of those bills took place, that they were destined to inevitable defeat in the Senate, and that to *insist* upon the adoption of the provisos attached to the appropriation bills, was to defeat those measures, and thereby stop the wheels of government, bring about revolution, and eventually destroy the Republic? And yet nothing else is proposed, nothing attempted, nothing even suggested by the party, who claim for themselves, *par excellence*, in every thing that pertains to the "wrongs of Kansas," a redress of those wrongs, and the restoration of quiet to the country.

Nor is that party excusable upon the ground that no one else has suggested a feasible and practical plan for the settlement of some, if not all, of the difficulties that exist. Weeks and weeks ago, Mr. Chairman, a gentleman from New York (Mr. HAVEN) presented to this House an amendment to the Senate Kansas bill, providing for the wiping out of everything transacted in that Territory since the organization—the taking of a new census, a complete registration of the legal voters, the districting anew of the Territory, the election of a new Legislature, the annulling upon the meeting of the Legislature of all laws unless re-enacted by it, and an entire change in its governmental affairs. And yet, sir, no action has been had by this House upon that measure, so fair upon its face, so unexceptionable to all, even those who insist upon the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill itself, exciting no agitation, conflicting with none of the doctrines of any party in this country, so promotive of its peace and quiet. But, instead of action upon it, when a proposition was made weeks ago to take from the table the Senate bill, so as to act upon the amendment offered to it, a large body of the Republican party upon this floor voted against, and by their votes defeated it. And now, Mr. Chairman, is it *unjust* to charge that there is no disposition on the part of the Republicans in this House to do anything *practical* towards the settlement of the Kansas difficulties, but that they are willing to adjourn this Congress, leaving Kansas uncared for—no provision for the repose of the country, no peace measure suggested, no suffusion of the blood, no healing of the wounds, no quieting of the fears and apprehensions of the good citizen, and all,

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all, because the Senate, constituted as it is, of which we have had full knowledge in advance, will not concur in some *favorite plan or scheme* upon which this House, as an *ultimatum*, has settled down.

And yet, sir, this Republican party goes out, and upon this record appeals to the country in the Presidential race; and while the Democracy folds its arms and stands upon its *finality*, doing nothing, proposing to do nothing, the Republicans, by their acts say to the people, "there shall be no settlement of this question—no compromise—no conciliation, and no cessation of hostilities unless they can obtain all that is required and demanded." And upon these two propositions, so widely apart, and yet so identical in their fatal tendencies and consequences to the country, they propose to fight the great Presidential battle of this year. Single-handed and alone, the contest would be fierce and terrible—bitter in its inception—hostile and vindictive in its progress—fearful in its termination—fatal and calamitous to the country, whatever may be its results.

Sir, the great heart of this [illegible] is not in that struggle. The masses [illegible] of the country, [illegible] in sentiment [illegible] while that [illegible] sectional supremacy proceeds, and every [illegible] brought [illegible] cool and [illegible] everywhere [illegible] and [illegible] the service of either [illegible] the other, there comes into the field a new party, with its chief [illegible] bearing in his hand the olive branch —with no martial music [illegible] but quietly, yet firmly [illegible] position, and enters the list. It bears [illegible] familiar banner—every stripe and star [illegible] one. [illegible] that band would [illegible] perseverance, [illegible] purely [illegible] defence. They battle in no new [illegible], nor upon no untried field, or with no new war-cry. Their cause is the cause of harmony and peace—their battle-field is the [illegible] country, and "the Constitution and the Union" is their war-cry.

And now, Mr Chairman, with these [illegible] parties in the contest, where should [illegible] found [illegible] The [illegible] will [illegible] The [illegible] many, but, battling as both these parties are, about a local and sectional question alone, making no other issue, under all the excitement and bitterness which must arise in such a fight, and with all the fearful consequences destined inevitably to grow out of its termination, whatever may be the result, and whichever may be the victor, can the masses, the bone and sinew, the great conservative element of the country, be forced to take position on either side? That prudence, and wisdom, and patriotism should deter them, no one can doubt. That every influence will be exerted, every stimulant applied, and all means resorted to for the purpose of *compelling* every man to enroll himself on one side or the other in this sectional fight, is already too apparent. The potent cry of "dough face" in the North and "Abolition" in the South, is already freely used to force men into a position at which their very nature revolts. And it only remains to be seen of what kind of *stuff* the *people* of this country is made, to determine whether the effort now being attempted shall be successful. Whatever apology or excuse can be offered by men in the North, who have heretofore *resisted* the temptations and allurements to enter into a fight which they even promise so much for their more powerful arm, yet, sir, there is not one of them who will for a single instant pause in his career and consult that silent monitor within him, who will not stand *appalled* at the fearful abyss which he so rapidly approaches. And yet, sir, like [illegible], they rush headlong on, seizing [illegible] fight, and [illegible]

Mr. [illegible] *intimidated* no [illegible] such contending [illegible] come when such a fight shall be [illegible], I shall not hesitate to take position; but, sir, [illegible] no party—no promise of success—no [illegible] office or other thing—no combination [illegible] can ever induce me [illegible] that shall tend to precipitate the country into sectional war, [illegible] in the government. Nor shall I ever fail to raise my voice, however feeble it may be, wherever, whenever, and be whomsoever such a proposition is made, against [illegible] against those who originate it—at its very inception—at every step of its progress, and until an honest, insulted and indignant people shall rise up in their might, and crush the [illegible]. Let no man say, sir, that the Democratic party has already proved itself [illegible] sectional party, and that *therefore* there exists a necessity for its overthrow. No excuse can be [illegible] for much that has been done by [illegible] however [illegible] engage in a sectional [illegible], nothing has yet occurred to justify [illegible] There is no office which, [illegible] the Democracy, [illegible] sectional [illegible] party [illegible].

And now, sir, [illegible] "[illegible] under no banner, [illegible] step [illegible] Union." [illegible] by [illegible] and [illegible] statesman of the country, [illegible] by the party [illegible] I shall [illegible] under the [illegible] him, and if anything could be added to render the encomium more complete, it has long since been written by those who now oppose him. His Presidential Administration is the highest guarantee of his future course, and neither declaration of principles or promise of performance should be asked or expected. He entered upon the discharge of Presidential duties once without them, and the patriotism and brilliancy of his Administration show that none are needed now to satisfy any one who could be satisfied with anything that he could say. Under such a man, standing, as he will, between two such contending parties, drawing to his support from each of them every man who has no heart for such a battle there will rally to his support such an army so pure in patriotism, so enlarged in conservative sentiment, so devoted to the government, in all its length and breadth, as to strike terror and inspire awe in the bosom of all who oppose it. The sublime spectacle of a party built up in the very midst of a revolution, bloodless as yet, but terrible and menacing on every side, peaceful and conciliatory in every movement, with no weapons of warfare but the cherished principles of our fathers and their sacred memories—no defence but the shield of the Constitution—no promise but an undivided people and an unbroken national faith,—with the God of battle to guide our steps, what power on earth shall overcome us?

AMERICAN ORGAN, [illegible]

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